

## Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 025971  
ORIGIN AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 HA-05 IO-14 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02  
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15 ACDA-12 OMB-01 COME-00  
EB-08 LAB-04 SIL-01 /125 R

DRAFTED BY AF/S: MACHISEK:GFH  
APPROVED BY AF/S: DON PETTERSON  
AF/S: LMACFARLANE  
-----110037 010242Z /41

O R 010140Z FEB 78  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG  
AMCONSUL DURBAN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON

UNCLAS STATE 025971

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, EGEN, SF

SUBJECT: DONALD WOODS' TESTIMONY BEFORE HOUSE  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA

1. SUMMARY: DONALD WOODS TESTIFIED FOR TWO HOURS  
BEFORE THE DIGGS SUBCOMMITTEE ON JANUARY 31. WOODS  
ARGUED THAT ONLY THROUGH POSITIVE PRESSURES ON THE  
PART OF WESTERN COUNTRIES WOULD NONVIOLENT CHANGE TAKE  
PLACE IN SOUTH AFRICA. FOLLOWING TESTIMONY AND QUESTION-  
ING, THERE WAS AN IMPROMPTU NEWS CONFERENCE GIVEN BY  
BIKO INQUEST DEFENSE ATTORNEY RETIEF VAN ROOYEN.  
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PAGE 02 STATE 025971

2. WOODS' TESTIMONY CONSISTED OF ELABORATION ON PREPARED  
NOTES WHICH WERE DISTRIBUTED EARLIER. TEXT OF NOTES  
AS FOLLOWS: BEGIN QUOTE:

A. THE PRESENT SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA IS POTENTIALLY  
EXPLOSIVE. MOST WHITES THERE ARE NOT FULLY AWARE  
OF THE EXTENT OF BLACK ANGER BECAUSE THERE IS LITTLE  
REAL CONTACT BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVE WHITE AND BLACK  
LEADERS, AND THE MEDIA ARE UNITED THROUGH GOVERNMENTAL  
CONTROL OR THREAT. A RACIAL CIVIL WAR COULD BEGIN

WITHIN THREE YEARS.

B. THE REAL ISSUES ARE BLURRED BY GOVERNMENT PROPAGANDISTS (I.E. TO CLAIM THAT PRESSURES FOR BASIC REFORM AMOUNT TO DEMANDS FOR WHITE "GROUP SUICIDE") AND THE ENTIRE THRUST OF PRO-APARTHEID PROPAGANDA IS BASED ON FALSE ASSUMPTIONS (I.E. THAT THERE ARE MORE THAN MINOR CULTURAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TRIBAL GROUPS OF SOUTH AFRICA, ALLEGEDLY JUSTIFYING THE DIVISION OF THE BLACK MAJORITY INTO EIGHT ETHNIC PORTIONS). RECENT CABINET APPOINTMENTS INDICATE THAT THE VORSTER GOVERNMENT HAS NO INTENTION OF CONSIDERING SIGNIFICANT REFORMS TO THE APARTHEID LAWS.

C. APARTHEID IS NO LONGER A DOMESTIC SOUTH AFRICAN ISSUE -- IT IS ONE OF THE MOST CONTENTIOUS ISSUES IN THE WORLD AND AFTER THE MID-EAST IT IS POTENTIALLY THE MOST DANGEROUS FOR INTERNATIONAL STABILITY. PRESENT U.S. POLICY ON APARTHEID, WHILE SEEN BY BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE REST OF AFRICA AS AN IMPROVEMENT ON THAT OF PAST ADMINISTRATIONS, IS NEVERTHELESS REGARDED BY THEM AS BEING SUPPORTIVE OF THE VORSTER GOVERNMENT  
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PAGE 03 STATE 025971

IN ITS OVERALL EFFECTS.

SOUTH AFRICA'S BLACKS ARE THEREFORE TURNING INCREASINGLY ANTI-WEST AND ANTI-AMERICAN BECAUSE OF AMERICAN AND WESTERN HESITANCY TO TAKE STRONGER STEPS AGAINST APARTHEID. BY CONTRAST THEY POINT TO THE FACT THAT RUSSIA HAS NO INVESTMENTS OR DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES IN SOUTH AFRICA, AND CITE SUCH FACTS AS THE EXTENT OF U.S. LOAN MONEY (MORE THAN TWO BILLION DOLLARS IN 1976) WHICH AMOUNTED TO THE ENTIRE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY BUDGET FOR THAT YEAR.

D. UNLESS THERE IS A MARKED COMMITMENT BY THIS CONGRESS DURING 1978 IN SUPPORT OF MORE POSITIVE PRESSURES AGAINST THE VORSTER GOVERNMENT; UNLESS THE U.S. TAKES THE LEAD AMONG THE NATIONS OF THE WEST TO CREATE SUCH PRESSURES, WITH THE AIM OF GETTING THE VORSTER GOVERNMENT TO OPEN SIGNIFICANT NEGOTIATION WITH THE REPRESENTATIVE LEADERS OF THE BLACK MAJORITY IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE INTER-RACIAL VIOLENCE WHICH WILL BREAK OUT IN THAT COUNTRY WILL HAVE FAR-REACHING EFFECTS, INVOLVING THE U.S.A'S RELATIONSHIP WITH MOST OF THE AFRICAN STATES AND WITH THE THIRD WORLD GENERALLY. END TEXT.

3. DIGGS OPENED SESSION WITH A BRIEF SUMMARY OF RECENT EVENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA INCLUDING STEVE BIKO'S

DEATH AND OCTOBER 19 BANNINGS AND DETENTIONS, AND THEN TURNED THE FLOOR TO WOODS. IN ELABORATING ON POINT A IN PREPARED NOTES, WOODS SAID THAT HE DOES NOT FEEL THAT THE SAG IS RUN BY "WILD CRIMINALS" BUT THAT LEADERS ARE TO SOME EXTENT VICTIMS OF THEIR OWN CONTROL OVER MEDIA WHICH PREVENTS WIDESPREAD WHITE APPRECIATION OF THE TRUE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY. HE ADDED THAT PRESS FREEDOM IN SOUTH AFRICA WHICH WAS UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 025971

ALWAYS LIMITED, WAS GREATLY REDUCED BY THE EVENTS OF OCTOBER 19.

4. RE POINT B, WOODS NOTED THAT SAG EXAGGERATED TRIBAL DIFFERENCES WHICH IGNORED DEGREE BLACK UNITY THAT NOW EXISTS. HE STATED THAT THERE WERE GREATER LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN AFRIKANERS AND ENGLISH-SPEAKING WHITES THAN BETWEEN SOME TRIBES. BY A LOGICAL EXTENSION OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT TWO WHITE GROUPS ALSO SHOULD BE ALLOTTED SEPARATE HOMELANDS.

5. ON POINT D, WOODS SUGGESTED SPECIFIC USG ACTIONS WHICH HE FEELS WOULD HAVE IMPORTANT IMPACT ON SAG THINKING:

- (A) WITHDRAWING OR AT MINIMUM SCALING DOWN DIPLOMATIC MISSION;
- (B) ESTABLISHING STRICT VISA RECIPROCITY;
- (C) BANNING FURTHER COMMERCIAL LOANS TO SOUTH AFRICA.

WOODS ADDED THAT RESPONSIBLE BLACKS WERE ALL IN FAVOR OF WESTERN DISENGAGEMENT FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

6. REP COLLINS ASKED ABOUT THE SALE OF CIVILIAN AIRCRAFT TO SOUTH AFRICA. WOODS SAID THAT STOPPING SUCH SALES WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT STEP, ADDING THAT SAG GRANTS SUBSTANTIAL TAX BREAKS TO AIRPLANE OWNERS BECAUSE IT KNOWS THESE PLANES WILL BE OF USE IN TIMES OF TROUBLE. WHEN ASKED BY COLLINS IF THERE WERE SIGNS, SUCH AS CAPITAL FLIGHT, THAT WHITE RESISTANCE WAS BEGINNING TO CRACK, WOODS EXPRESSED VIEW THAT THE MOST OF WHITE POPULATION PLANNED TO STICK IT OUT. UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 025971

HE ADDED THAT THERE WAS NO POSSIBILITY OF WESTERN PRESSURE FORCING THEM INTO THE LAAGER, BECAUSE THEY WERE ALREADY THERE.

7. REP WHALEN ASKED, GIVEN WHITE FEAR FOR SURVIVAL,

WHAT CHANCE EXISTED FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTION. WOODS

STATED THAT NO RESPONSIBLE BLACK GROUP HAD EVER CALLED FOR EXPELLING WHITES FROM SOUTH AFRICA, AND THAT HE THOUGHT IF THE INITIATIVE CAME FROM WHITES, THERE WAS STILL TIME FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS; HOWEVER, THE ONLY WAY WHITES WOULD TAKE INITIATIVE WAS THROUGH STRONG EXTERNAL PRESSURES. HE SAID FEELING STILL EXISTS THAT, IN THE CRUNCH, WEST WILL COME TO THE RESCUE OF THE WHITES; SUCH FEELING COULD ONLY BE DISPELLED THROUGH POSITIVE STEPS SUCH AS HE SUGGESTED.

8. REP. SOLARZ ASKED WOODS' OPINION ON LIKELY IMPACT OF PROPOSED LEGISLATION WHICH WOULD BAN NEW INVESTMENT AND TIE TAX CREDITS FOR AMERICAN FIRMS OPERATING IN SOUTH AFRICA TO A SET OF EMPLOYMENT STANDARDS. WOODS SAID ECONOMIC EFFECT WOULD BE LIMITED, BUT IT WOULD HAVE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT AND MIGHT FORCE UK, FRANCE AND FRG TO ADOPT SIMILAR MEASURES. SOLARZ NOTED THAT MAJOR CONGRESSIONAL PROBLEM IN ADOPTING MEASURES AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA WAS QUESTION OF CONSISTENCY: WHY ACT AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA AND NOT OTHER COUNTRIES SUCH AS UGANDA AND THE PRC? WOODS REPLIED THAT CONSISTENCY WAS IMPORTANT, BUT IT MUST BE REMEMBERED THAT ONLY IN SOUTH AFRICA WAS RACISM SO ALL-PERVASIVE AND CODIFIED. WHEN SOLARZ PRESSED WOODS TO DESCRIBE POSSIBLE LONG-TERM SOLUTIONS, WOODS ALLOWED THAT SOME PARTITION MIGHT BE NECESSARY TO SATISFY HARD-CORE WHITES, SUCH AS RESERVING ORANGE FREE STATE FOR WHITES.

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PAGE 06 STATE 025971

9. ASKED FOR HIS ASSESSMENT OF THE INKATHA/CLP/IRP ALLIANCE, WOODS SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS WARNED BUTHELEZI ABOUT ATTEMPTS TO EXTEND HIS INFLUENCE AMONG NON-ZULUS AND EXPRESSED VIEW IF BUTHELEZI GOES MUCH FURTHER, THE GOVERNMENT WILL CRACK DOWN. STOPPING BUTHELEZI WOULD NOT BE WITHOUT RISK, AND MAY PROVOKE WIDESPREAD CIVIL DISTURBANCES.

10. ON OTHER QUESTIONS RAISED DURING HEARING, WOODS (A) ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HENRY FORD'S REPORTED STATEMENT ABOUT EXPANSION WAS BASED ON A MISQUOTE, BUT THAT FORD DID NOT SPEAK TO THE "RIGHT PEOPLE" IN SOUTH AFRICA ABOUT U.S. INVESTMENT, AND (B) SAID THAT BIKO INQUEST VERDICT ENCOURAGED LOWER-ECHELON SECURITY POLICE PERSONNEL BELIEF THAT SAG WILL NOT ACT TO CURB THEIR EXCESSES. IN CLOSING REMARKS,

DIGGS COMMENTED FAVORABLY ON WOODS' EARLIER SUGGESTION RE STRICTER VISA RECIPROCITY AND WONDERED ALOUD HOW

RETIEF VAN ROOYEN, WHO WAS TO GIVE PRESS CONFERENCE  
IMMEDIATELY AFTER SESSION, HAD RECEIVED A VISA.

11. IMMEDIATELY AFTER END OF COMMITTEE SESSION, OUTSIDE  
OF HEARING ROOM, VAN ROOYEN (ACCOMPANIED BY REPRESENTATIVE  
OF DEKIEFER AND ASSOCIATES, A WASHINGTON PR FIRM) ANNOUNCED  
HE WAS GIVING PRESS CONFERENCE AND ASKED WOODS TO JOIN HIM.  
VAN ROOYEN STATED THAT HE WAS A "PRIVATE CITIZEN" ON HIS FIRST  
VISIT TO U.S. WHO WISHED TO COUNTER THE "GREAT LIE" WOODS WAS  
PUTTING FORTH -- THAT BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS WANTED WESTERN  
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 07 STATE 025971

OFFICIAL SAG VERSION AND SHOUTED DOWN WOODS' DEMURRAL.  
REST OF CONFERENCE WENT ON IN SIMILAR VEIN, WITH VAN ROOYEN  
GENERALLY DENYING WOODS OPPORTUNITY TO RESPOND TO HIS ARGUMENTS,  
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12. COMMENT: WOODS FACED NO HOSTILE QUESTIONING DURING  
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VANCE

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PAGE 01 STATE 025971  
ORIGIN IO-03

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /004 R

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DRAFTED BY IO/UNA:BJSHARP

APPROVED BY IO/UNA:JFTEFFT

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0000

UNCLAS STATE 025971

FROM UNA

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 025971 ACTION PRETORIA  
INFO CAPE TOWN JOHANNESBURG DURBAN LONDON 01 FEB 78

QUOTE

UNCLAS STATE 025971

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

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PAGE 02 STATE 025971

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PAGE 03 STATE 025971

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PAGE 04 STATE 025971

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PAGE 05 STATE 025971

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PAGE 06 STATE 025971

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11. IMMEDIATELY AFTER END OF COMMITTEE SESSION, OUTSIDE OF HEARING ROOM, VAN ROOYEN (ACCOMPANIED BY REPRESENTATIVE OF DEKIEFER AND ASSOCIATES, A WASHINGTON PR FIRM) ANNOUNCED HE WAS GIVING PRESS CONFERENCE AND ASKED WOODS TO JOIN HIM. VAN ROOYEN STATED THAT HE WAS A "PRIVATE CITIZEN" ON HIS FIRST VISIT TO U.S. WHO WISHED TO COUNTER THE "GREAT LIE" WOODS WAS PUTTING FORTH -- THAT BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS WANTED WESTERN ECONOMIC DISENGAGEMENT. IF WEST REALLY WANTED TO UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 07 STATE 025971

HELP SA BLACKS, INVESTMENT IN HOMELANDS WAS THE WAY TO DO IT. ON THE BIKO DEATH, VAN ROOYEN OFFERED OFFICIAL SAG VERSION AND SHOUTED DOWN WOODS' DEMURRAL. REST OF CONFERENCE WENT ON IN SIMILAR VEIN, WITH VAN ROOYEN GENERALLY DENYING WOODS OPPORTUNITY TO RESPOND TO HIS ARGUMENTS, CROWD (EXCEPT FOR TWO REPORTERS AND ONE SAG EMBASSY OFFICIAL) CLEARLY WITH WOODS, AND CAPITOL HILL POLICE, AFTER FURTHER ACRIMONIOUS EXCHANGES, ENDED THE AFFAIR ON GROUNDS THAT HALLWAY NEEDED TO BE CLEARED. WOODS AND VAN ROOYEN AGREED TO A LATER DEBATE.

12. COMMENT: WOODS FACED NO HOSTILE QUESTIONING DURING HEARING AND OBVIOUSLY IMPRESSED ALREADY FAVORABLY DISPOSED COMMITTEE MEMBERS. HE CONSISTENTLY TIED HIS CALLS FOR GREATER WESTERN PRESSURE TO THE ARGUMENT THAT IT WAS THE ONLY MEANS TO PREVENT CIVIL WAR. THE HALLWAY CONFRONTATION, PRESUMABLY STAGED TO DISCREDIT WOODS, APPEARED TO HAVE FAILED ITS PURPOSE. VANCE UNQUOTE VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 26 sep 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLITICAL SITUATION, US CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS  
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**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 01 feb 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** n/a  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Office:** ORIGIN AF  
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**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
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**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
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**Subject:** DONALD WOODS' TESTIMONY BEFORE HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA  
**TAGS:** EGEN, PINT, SF, EGEN, PINT, (WOODS, DONALD)  
**To:** PRETORIA CAPE TOWN MULTIPLE  
**Type:** TE  
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Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014